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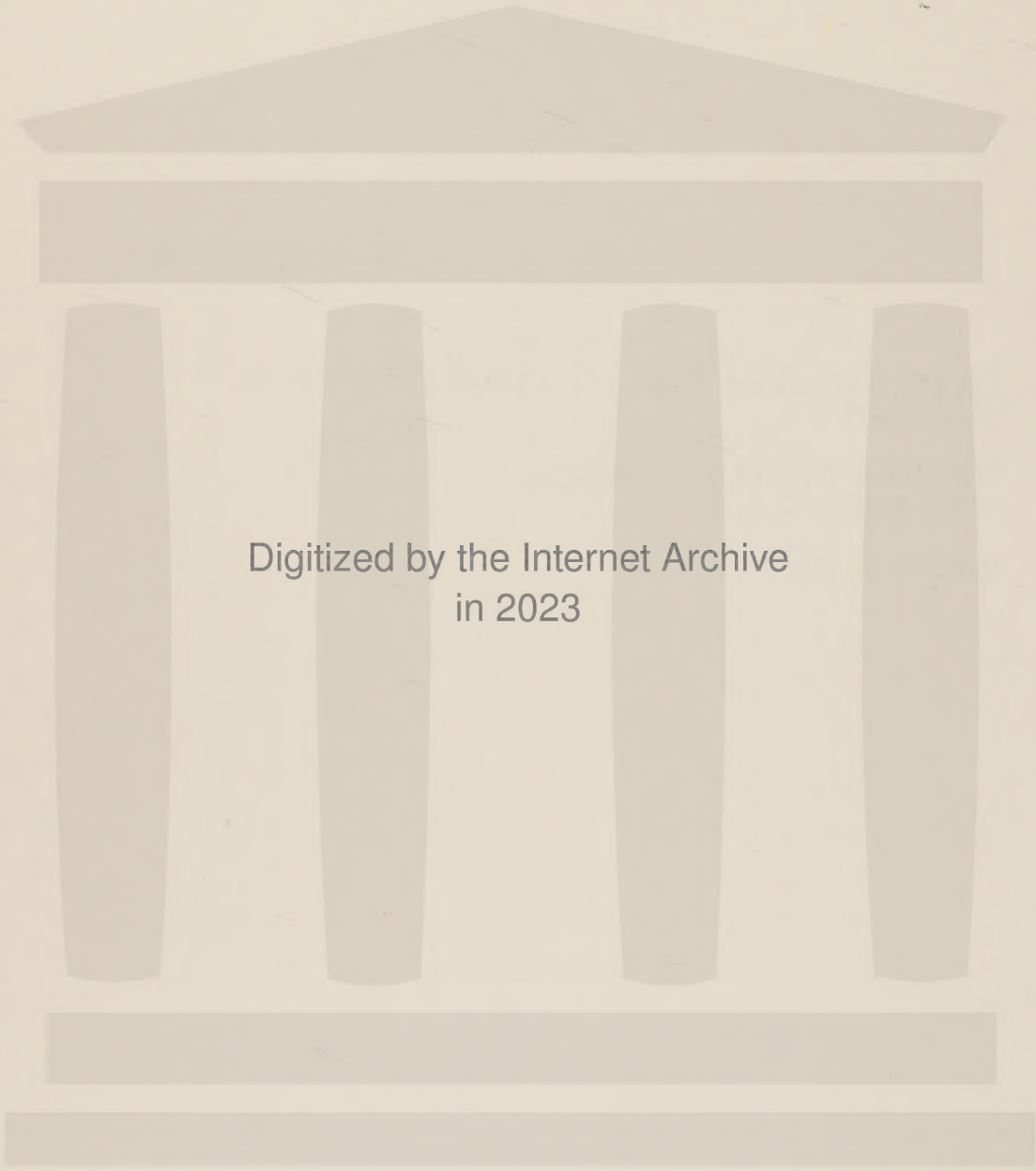

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The People of Small Countries Will Surely Win, Big Power Hegemonism Will Surely Lose

- A law of history as seen from the American War of Independence

by

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and

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(Wu-han Ta-hsüeh Hsüeh-pao /Wuhan University Journal/, Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition, No. 4, July 14, 1976)

Altogether 200 years have passed since the United States became independent. Two hundred years ago, the American people, unable to bear British colonial oppression, took up arms and fought bravely for eight years. Eventually the weak defeated the strong, and the small the big. Having defeated the British colonial hegemonic empire, they won national independence. Reviewing this piece of history today is significant for us to further understand the historical law that small countries can defeat big countries, recognize the inherent weakness of hegemonism and increase the confidence of the people of the whole world in the inevitable victory of their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism.

The American War of Independence was a just war against colonial rule in modern history. Chairman Mao pointed out: "Washington, Jefferson and others made revolution against Britain because of British oppression and exploitation of the Americans." ("The Bankruptcy of the Idealist Conception of History") Prior to American independence, the British colonialists successively established 13 colonies on the east coast of North America. In one and a half centuries, these colonies were subject to brutal British oppression and exploitation. The colonialists not only ruthlessly plundered and slaughtered the native Indians and introduced the barbaric slave system to exploit the black slaves and white bondsmen, but also instituted a series of reactionary laws and decrees to repress the development of local industry and commerce, deprive the people of the colonies of their basic rights, and gravely hinder the development of social productive forces. Therefore, to smash the chains of colonial oppression and to seek national emancipation became the common aspiration of the masses of the people inhabiting the North American colonies.

However, it wasn't an easy task for the North Americans to remove this big mountain of British colonialism. Since the late 16th century, Britain had successively defeated Spain, the Netherlands and France, boasted of an "invincible" armada that ran amuck in the high seas, and was then the

number one industrial-commercial and military power in the world. With a population of 30 million in her homeland and colonies in Asia, Africa and America, she was striding into an "empire where the sun never sets." All the 13 colonies in North America were very weak, their combined population being less than one-tenth of Britain's. Politically they were without independent sovereignty and were divided, there being sabotaged by hidden traitors, the "royalists." Agriculture was the mainstay of the economy. They were extremely weak in industry and commerce, and limited in financial resources. Militarily, they had no regular troops nor a naval fleet. All they had were a few militia detachments armed with worn-out rifles and swords.

Faced with the formidable hegemonic adversary, should they submit as slaves or rise to resist? Two diametrically opposed lines prevailed at the time. As Britain's lackeys, the capitulationist "royalists" pledged their loyalty to the British monarch; the bourgeois appeasers, worshipping and fearing Britain, spread the "war will lose" theory. But the masses of the people feared neither repression nor intimidation. They mobilized themselves on an extensive scale, took up arms and waged uncompromising struggle against the enemy. Under extremely difficult conditions, they persevered in armed struggle for as long as eight years and finally emerged the victor. The reason why the Americans were able to defeat this "monster," the British colonial empire, was that their struggle forged ahead along this revolutionary line.

The American people went through a tortuous struggle before they embarked on this correct road. In 1765, as Britain stepped up its plunder of the colonies, the North Americans stirred up the storm of national revolution heralded by their opposition to the "Stamp Act." Mass demonstrations against Britain erupted all over the 13 colonies. At this time the bourgeois appeasers, however, spread illusions and did their best to confine the movement to the scope of peaceful petitions. They appealed to the British monarch for "mercy" and the "favor" of autonomy. But this plea was rejected. The British rulers attempted to wipe out the revolution by resorting to slaughter, created the "Boston massacre," and enforced laws and decrees intensifying suppression. Harsh realities educated the people by negative example. In September 1774, anti-British representatives from various colonies held the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia and formed an anti-British united front. But many prominent bourgeois representatives attending the Congress continued to entertain illusions about the British government, favored compromise, and appealed for reconciliation. The revolutionaries refuted their point of view, holding: to win the right of liberty, we "must appeal to force." In April 1775, gunshots fired by the minutemen at Lexington and Concord against the British royal troops raised the curtain of the American War of Independence. With victory in the first rounds of battles, the revolutionary situation rapidly surged forward. At the Second Continental Congress held on July 4, 1776, the 13 colonies jointly issued the "Declaration of Independence." Once this fighting banner of "independence" was hoisted, the flames of armed struggle raged more and more fiercely.

"The richest source of power to wage war lies in the masses of the people." (Chairman Mao, "On Protracted War") In the face of the powerful enemy armed to the teeth and equipped with armadas and cannon, the North American colonies relied on the masses who dared to struggle. Once war broke out, patriotic peasants, handicraftsmen, workers and fishermen rose up and armed themselves; they organized minutemen, with astonishingly great number, strong fighting will and strength. Within three days after the start of the Lexington encounter, more than 20,000 minutemen assembled from everywhere. Almost all draft-age men from many cities and townships answered the call to arms. Later, the Continental Army commanded by Washington was composed of these regrouped minutemen. As commanding officers were not available, they were picked from the masses. From the war emerged many fine generals that came from the working people. General Greene, Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army, was formerly a blacksmith, General Putnam was a peasant, General Cran (克然) was a carpenter, and Morgan, the outstanding commander of the guerrillas, was a driver. To counter the British fleet, which dominated the seas, the masses equipped seven small fishing vessels with arms, the beginnings of the Continental Army's "fleet." Throughout the war, the most basic strength of this "fleet" consisted of innumerable armed civilian vessels, which numbered more than 2,000 at one time, with about 100,000 sailors. Most of the fighters fought and farmed, carrying their own food and making their weapons and ammunitions where these were not available. They also raided and seized the enemy's arsenals, ammunition depots and supply vessels, surmounting every difficulty by relying on the strength of the masses themselves and their brave fighting spirit.

Both at sea and on land, the revolutionary war displayed irresistible force. When the war broke out, the British navy, which had control of the seas, strictly blockaded the North American coast. Undaunted, the colonial people defied the all-out British blockade with several armed fishing vessels, one of which, using surprise tactics, successfully captured a large enemy ship. The brave warrior John Jones led a two-vessel "fleet" on an expedition to faraway England and sank one enemy ship during a battle with the powerful royal fleet off the Irish coast. These armed civilian vessels roamed the vast expanse of the Atlantic Ocean, unafraid of the convoys of the Royal Navy and bravely attacking the British merchant ships. In the first two years of the war alone, they achieved the brilliant feat of inflicting losses on enemy ships seven times their own. The minutemen fighting on land contributed soul-stirring chapters to the war of independence. In the Lexington and Concord skirmishes, the minutemen in their first strikes put 800 British regulars to rout and inflicted heavy casualties on them. This greatly deflated the arrogance of the British aggressors. In the autumn of 1777, the intrepid minutemen of New England badly battered more than 8,000 enemy regulars commanded by the British general Burgoyne, finally forcing the 5,000 remnant enemies to surrender at Saratoga. The brave negro slave Pompey sneaked into the enemy camp alone, found out the password, and led his men spring a surprise assault and capture more than 600 enemy soldiers. The negro hero Purins (普林士) captured alive the British general Cha-te P'u-jui-ssu-ko-te (查得·普瑞斯科德). The valiant deeds of the American people in sea and ground combat illustrate that it is the people who are really

powerful, not the aggressors who are fierce and rampant for a time. As long as the people of small and weak countries dare to fight, big power hegemonism will reveal its true features of a paper tiger.

Learning warfare through warfare, the American people mastered the strategy and tactics of vanquishing the strong by the weak. Turning their backs on the people, the British aggressors mounted an expedition to a far-away land and embarked on the risky offensive tactics of fighting quick, decisive battles by relying on their temporary and superficial military superiority. The American people, however, resisted the invaders with the strategy and tactics of protracted guerrilla warfare. They developed the dispersed tactics learned from the Indians, springing surprise assaults, laying an ambush, scattering their forces, besieging the enemy with concentrated forces alternately, thereby throwing the British army into disarray and giving them no place to hide. As Engels pointed out: "The popular uprisings, revolutionary war, organizing guerrillas everywhere -- this is the only method for small nations to defeat big nations and for not so strong armies to resist the relatively powerful and well-organized armies." (Collected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. VI, p. 461)

Revolutionary struggle is always tortuous and complex, and it is therefore necessary both to persevere in unfavorable times and to maintain vigilance in moments of victory, so as not to be misled by the enemy's peace overtures and similar inducements. We must dare to win the final victory. Throughout the War of Independence, the British Government on several occasions played the tricks of carrot and stick to lure the people of colonies to lay down their arms and negotiate peace. Particularly in October 1777, after the Americans scored the tremendous victory at Saratoga, the British Government, seeing the unfavorable tide, unveiled the so-called "Knox (諾斯) plan," offering to meet all demands of the American side other than independence. The doves were jubilant and planned to act. The hawks, however, recognized the enemy's plot, and the masses on the Rhode Island took an even more determined stand and burned the British peace plan under the scaffold. Spurred by the revolutionary situation, the Continental Congress refused to negotiate with the British delegation, and the peace fraud was shattered.

The just struggle of the Americans had widespread sympathy and support of the people of other British colonies, Canada and Ireland and many other countries and regions. The masses of the Bahama Islands seized the weapons of the reactionary authorities and turned them over to the Americans. The colonial councils in Jamaica and Barbados respectively adopted resolutions supporting the anti-British struggle of the people of Boston. More than 7,000 revolutionaries in Europe and Latin America organized volunteers and proceeded to North America to fight alongside the Americans. In Britain itself, massive anti-war movements were unfolded by the people. In fierce street fighting, the masses in London dealt heavy blows to the British ruling clique and gave tremendous support to the American revolution.

The Americans also took advantage of Britain's rivalry with France and Spain to enter into temporary alliances with France and other countries.

In 1778, France formally recognized American independence, signed a military alliance with the Americans, and entered the war against Britain. Subsequently, both Spain and the Netherlands joined France in the war against Britain. At the same time, acts of piracy of British fleets against merchant ships of neutral European countries antagonized these countries into forming an "armed neutralist league" to counter Britain's hegemonic acts. As a result, Britain was completely isolated internationally and found itself surrounded by enemies.

In the decisive battle fought in Yorktown in October 1781, the Americans at one stroke wiped out the 8,000-odd main force of the British aggressive army, and this brilliant feat brought about the decisive victory of the war, forcing Britain to sign a peace treaty with the United States in 1783 and recognize the independence of the 13 colonies. The American independence "sounded the death knell to the middle class in Europe" (Collected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. XXIII, p. 11), hastened the eruption of the French bourgeois revolution and influenced the rise of the national liberation movements among the colonies in Latin America. The victory of the American War of Independence eloquently attests to this law of history: "A just cause enjoys abundant support while an unjust cause finds little support. A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country if only they dare to rise in struggle, dare to take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country." (Chairman Mao, "The People of the Whole World Unite To Defeat the American Aggressors and All Their Running Dogs!") The people of small countries who dare to struggle will surely triumph while the aggressors of big hegemonic powers will surely lose -- this general trend of history cannot be resisted by any big empire, however rampant it is for a time. The American War of Independence provides us with the testimony of history.

The American War of Independence was "a great, truly liberating and truly revolutionary war." (Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. XXVIII, p. 43) However, the fruit of victory of the revolution was seized by the bourgeoisie and plantation slave owners. The vast masses of laboring people who contributed great and meritorious services to the founding of the United States of America later became "the wage slaves of a handful of modern capitalist multi-millionaries." (Ibid., p. 44) When American imperialism took the old road of British colonial hegemonism and became one of the world's biggest oppressors, it completely trampled on the revolutionary tradition of the American people in their struggle against colonial hegemonism in former years. This, however, made it take the opposite direction, and it likewise failed to escape from punishment by that law of history that preyed upon British colonial hegemonism. In the decades following World War II, innumerable facts of the victory of the anti-US struggles by the people of the Third World, particularly the brilliant victories scored by the people of Korea and Indochina in their resist-US and national salvation wars, have repeatedly testified to this.

The latecoming and wildly ambitious Soviet social-imperialism is following in the footsteps of all forerunners of colonial and hegemonic

empires, even surpassing them in greed and ruthlessness. It is pushing hegemonism and power politics everywhere, stepping up its contention in Europe, expanding in the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and all regions where its hands can reach, viciously intruding into and bullying the Third World and all medium and small countries, and becoming the biggest despot in contemporary times. Despite its wild ambitions, however, it is weak and its strength is inadequate. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution -- this has become an irresistibly mighty historical tide. The Soviet revisionists are going against the historical tide and are hostile to the people of the world, including their own people. In the end they will surely suffer more tragic setbacks than their predecessors.

"Nothing is difficult in the world if you dare to scale the heights." As long as the people of all medium and small countries that have been encroached upon and bullied by the two hegemonic powers -- the USSR and the US -- dare to struggle and are good at it, strengthen unity and put the destiny of their own countries in their hands, they will certainly be able to defeat the hegemonic powers and win great victories in the struggle against them!

* * *

Infiltration of Canada by Soviet Revisionism

by

North American Economy Research Unit,
Department of Economics

(Wu-han Ta-hsüeh Hsüeh-pao /Wuhan University Journal/, Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition, No. 4, July 14, 1976)

To cover up its expansion in Canada, a Second World country, in its contention with US imperialism for supremacy, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique not long ago instructed its Central Committee's organ to publish articles commenting on Soviet-Canadian relations and prating about "the significant cooperation" between the two countries. In his report to the "25th Congress," Soviet revisionist chieftain Brezhnev exaggeratively said: "Our relations with Canada have become more and more substantial in content."

The Soviet revisionists openly pose as friends of the Canadian people, describing infiltration as "cooperation" and aggression as "friendship." This is a gross lie, illustrating the fact that the more one tries to hide, the more one is exposed.

Chairman Mao once pointed out: "Imperialist governments are engaged in counter-revolutionary undertakings every day, yet orally and in official documents they always talk about benevolence, righteousness and morality....they never speak the truth." Soviet revisionism is a model of this type of double-dealers, with "honey in mouth, dagger in heart."

1. Penetration in the Name of "Cooperation"

The course of Soviet revisionist economic penetration of Canada under the guise of "cooperation" has been closely linked with the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, its arms expansion and preparations for war, its contention with US imperialism for world supremacy. In the early period of the 1950's, there were practically no trade ties between the USSR and Canada. With the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, the new tsar's frenzied preoccupation with arms expansion and war preparations and contention with US imperialism for world supremacy, contradictions within the country became increasingly acute. Soviet economic infiltration of Canada has, on the one hand, been designed to ease internal contradictions and, on the other, to undermine US-Canadian ties and disrupt NATO. The USSR has employed various means to improve its relations with Canada.

(1) Grain purchases. After restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique by its perverted acts has caused grave setbacks to the Soviet economy. To ease its grain deficiencies, the Soviet Union has ordered massive grain purchases from Canada and other Western countries. Since it signed a trade agreement with Canada in 1956,

its trade with Canada has virtually been dominated by grain imports. From 1956 to 1974, Russia's total trade with Canada amounted to $1.8 billion, 93 percent being food imports. Soviet preoccupation with arms expansion and war preparations has adversely affected its agriculture, forcing it to look upon Canada as one of the food supply sources. On the other hand, by taking advantage of Canada's prolonged crisis of agricultural overproduction, it has used grain purchases as an important means of infiltrating into the Canadian economy and lured that country to enlarge its economic exchanges with the Soviet revisionists.

(2) Hunting for capital and technology. In the latter part of the 1960's, the accelerated expansion of Soviet military power whetted its appetite for further expansion and this greatly increased the tempo of its contention with US imperialism for world supremacy. However, as "a military giant and economic beggar," the Soviet Union, hard pressed for capital and backward in technology, suffered in competitiveness on the international market. It has thus made every effort to hunt for capital and import technology and equipment from the West so as to increase its strength in contention for supremacy. Since 1965, the Soviet Union has entered into agreements with many Western countries for industrial, technological and scientific exchanges. In 1971, it signed similar agreements with Canada. "All these agreements," pointed out one Canadian newspaper, "are aimed at transferring industrial and technical skills to the Soviet Union." "The Soviet Union needs Western technology and capital equipment to catch up with the Western levels of labor productivity" and increase its competitiveness. Meanwhile, the USSR obtained large loans from the Western countries. In 1975, it borrowed $500 million from Canada, "the largest ever foreign loan made by Canada in its history."

(3) Dumping and expanding export of commodities. In order to get into the Canadian market and eliminate competition, the USSR has in recent years resorted to the trade war tactics habitually used by imperialism -- dumping to capture outlets for commodities. According to press disclosures in Canada, when British Columbia's hydroelectric bureau and Manitoba called for tenders in the early 1970's for turbine generators for hydro-power stations, the USSR in each case was the lowest bidder and won the contracts. When the same bureau in British Columbia in early 1975 again called for tenders for turbine generators, Russia outbad the "General Electric Company of Canada," a subsidiary of the American monopoly organization, and clinched the deal. The latter filed a lawsuit against the Soviet Union, requesting invocation of Canada's "Anti-Dumping Act" and the imposition of an anti-dumping tax on the Soviet import so as to protect Canada's domestic market. In July and August the same year, the Canadian press again disclosed how Russia in its efforts to capture the electric appliance market turned to large-scale price cutting and dumping. The Canadian Financial Times pointed out that on one occasion Russia outbad the "Dominion Engineering Company" of Montreal in the tender for the supply of two sets of turbine generators for $9,500,000 as against $15,500,000, and won the contract.

On the Canadian textile market, Russia also resorted to dumping. Recently, the Canadian media, after mentioning the American threat to

Canada's textile industry, said: "Another threat comes from Soviet social-imperialism, which robs India, Egypt and Turkey of their cotton, exploits the workers of East European countries, and dumps its finished products on the US and Canadian markets. Imported textiles are sold at prices below cost, ... medium and small capital (in Canada) is on its way out. They appeal to the government for the protection of their interests." The penetration of the two superpowers, the US and the USSR, has struck heavy blows at Canada's textile industry, which is in a sad plight.

To push its trade offensive on a massive scale, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism has in recent years set up in Canada many firms and organizations, applying on a large scale the Western method of marketing. For instance, the "V/O Tractor Export Company," a Soviet foreign trade organization, set up a subsidiary in Canada. According to reports, up to August 1973, Russia had set up five trading organizations in Quebec and Ontario, and, according to the original plan, more such organizations would be set up. Due to accelerated Soviet penetration of Canada, certain Soviet products have in recent years gained increasingly large shares of the market. Not long ago, an official Canadian publication pointed out: "The latest Soviet trade offensive appears to have greater resolve than previous efforts. Western methods of marketing are being used by the Soviet Union in many Western countries including Canada." "Canadian manufacturers," it added, "should expect.....daily growing Soviet competition."

2. A Fishery Tyrant

Having a long coastline with the Atlantic in the east and the Pacific in the west, Canada is a country abounding in fishery resources. In plundering the resources of the oceans, Soviet revisionism has all along been fiercely contending with American imperialism. Naturally, it covets Canada's abundant marine products. For many years it has spared no effort in expanding its fishing fleet equipped with modern equipment, which is now the largest in the world. With this massive fleet of modern trawlers, Russia has been able to run amuck in the sea lanes of the world to plunder the coastal marine resources of other countries. About a thousand Soviet trawlers operate in the northwestern waters of the Atlantic close to Canada, fishing all the year round along the continental shelf in the vicinity of Newfoundland, posing a great threat to Canada's fishery production.

In plundering Canada's coastal resources, the Russians have arrogantly resorted to the most vicious means, fully exhibiting the covetous and ferocious features of social-imperialism, a pirate and a fishery tyrant. They ignore the fishing quotas prescribed by the Northwest Atlantic International Fisheries Committee and frequently violate ceilings for catches, thus seriously affecting Canada's fishery production. According to statistics, in the 14 years from 1959 to 1973, the Russian catch in the waters of Northwest Atlantic shot up by 650 percent, while the Canadian catch in the same fishing grounds had steadily fallen since 1968 and by 1973 dropped by 30 percent compared with 1968. In the face of Soviet acts of piracy, the Canadian press said: "In plundering Canada's fisheries resources, Soviet social-imperialism is more aggressive than US imperialism."

What appears more serious is that the predatory catch by Soviet modern trawlers has been most destructive to fishery resources. According to disclosures made by Canadian newspapers, giant Soviet deepwater trawlers can make a clean sweep of all the fish in one operation, including fledgling whales. This destructive piracy by the Soviet revisionists has confronted Canada's fishing industry with a serious crisis and depleted its fishery resources. Lobsters abounding in the waters in the vicinity of Nova Scotia have virtually been cleared by Soviet deepwater trawlers, while fishes found in other regions have significantly decreased. The Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau not long ago pointed out that due to excessive operations of foreign trawlers, fishes in Northwest Atlantic are in danger of becoming extinct.

To cover up its acts of piracy and further plunder Canada's fishery resources, the USSR has played the trick of issuing false reports on its catch in a vain bid to deceive world opinion. In exposing the Soviet fraud, a number of fisheries organizations in Canada compared the Soviet and Canadian catches in the same fishing grounds and convincingly brought out the Soviet fraud in the preparation of statistics and reports concerning the catch. The utter meanness of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism in plunder and deception is fully exposed.

3. Military Threats and Espionage Activities

To cover up its contention with US imperialism for world supremacy and criminal acts of infiltration and aggression against other countries, the Soviet revisionists have everywhere played the detente fraud to deceive world opinion. They play the same trick in dealing with Canada. On the one hand, Soviet chieftains and other functionaries visit Canada, tirelessly preaching that "the detente has opened up fine prospects for developing Soviet-Canadian relations" and that Soviet-Canadian "cooperation conforms with the national interests of both countries and serves the easing of international tensions and the preservation of peace." On the other hand, they have unceasingly carried out infiltration and aggression against Canada, making military threats against Canada, dispatching large numbers of secret agents to that country and seriously infringing on Canada's sovereignty and national security. According to Canadian press disclosures, Soviet military aircraft have in recent years violated Canada's northern territorial air space, while long-range Soviet bombers have frequently flown over Canada at a distance only 800 miles from Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. Soviet submarines have even cruised near Canadian waters and dropped anchor there, many of them being nuclear-powered submarines capable of firing ballistic missiles. Referring to the military threat from Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, the Canadian Defense Minister Richardson pointed out many times that the main threat to Canada comes from the Soviet Union, whose "tanks,submarines and aircraft are increasing in number day after day," and "there exists the Soviet threat of air strike over the North American continent."

Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is also engaged in espionage activities in Canada. In the past year or so, apart from the frequent

appearance of Soviet military reconnaissance planes over Canada's northern territory on reconnaissance missions and constant year-round movement of Soviet submarines outside Canadian waters in Northwest Atlantic and the Arctic Ocean, the USSR is also engaged in intelligence activities through the use of spy satellites, trawlers and merchant ships. On July 28, 1975, the Canadian Minister of Communications revealed that Soviet spy satellites had been tapping Canada's long-distance calls. It was alleged that 70 percent of the 18 billion such calls by Canadians in 1974 had been tapped by the Russians. In coping with incessant Soviet espionage activities, a reporter of the Globe and Mail said: "It appears that the Soviets have a strange interest in Canada, which has nothing to do with the 'detente' they preach."

4. Canada's Struggle Against Soviet Infiltration Plunder and Aggression

Soviet economic, political, military and cultural penetration of Canada is an important part of the Soviet-US contention for world supremacy. Since this seriously infringes on Canada's sovereignty and impairs its interests, the Canadian people and various quarters have increasingly recognized the true features of this superpower. They have arisen against Soviet penetration, plunder and aggression and for upholding Canada's sovereignty and interests.

The Canadian press has for many years exposed Soviet penetration, plunder and aggression of Canada. The Daily News of People's Canada pointed out that Soviet trade penetration "reveals the imperialist nature of Soviet commerce. They try their best to take advantage of US imperialism's economic crisis to take over its market and use the well-known imperialist trade war tactics -- dumping and so forth." Some Canadian parliamentarians also said angrily: "Russia is the chief plunderer of our country's marine resources." "The greatest threat to human freedom, the independence of various countries and world peace comes from Soviet imperialism."

The broad masses of the people and a number of organizations in Canada have not only exposed and angrily denounced Soviet penetration through the mass media, but have also taken concrete steps to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against the Soviet revisionists. In early 1973, the fishermen and members of the food products unions in Newfoundland demonstrated at the Port of St. John against docking of Soviet vessels, demanding that the government stop Soviet plunder which deprived the Canadian fishermen of their means of living. In recent years, such resistance and struggles have developed without letup. In 1975, to oppose Soviet plunder of Canada's fishery resources, Robert Hunter, Chairman of the "Green Peace Foundation," led a group of people on a sea voyage of 84 days to interfere with the operations of Soviet whaling vessels along the western coast of Canada. From May to July, 1975, some 100,000 Newfoundlanders signed a petition urging the government to take unilateral action to announce the 200-nautical mile economic zone without waiting for the superpowers' consent. On August 8, Canadians on the West Coast demonstrated and at the Vancouver port set up a picket line at the wharf where a Soviet freighter

was moored. The dockers refused to load the freighter with provisions because the ship had called at Vancouver two to three times a month to bring supplies to Soviet trawlers. In the same month, representatives of Canadian dockers together with their American counterparts adopted a resolution at the 25th annual meeting of the International Dockers Association, declaring the dockers' refusal to load American and Canadian grains purchased by the Soviet revisionists to protest against rising American and Canadian grain prices as a result of incessant Soviet grain procurements in North America, a move detrimental to the well-being of the American and Canadian people.

Meanwhile, under the pressure of public opinion, the Canadian Government also adopted measures to combat Soviet plunder and inroads. In July 1975, the Canadian Government announced a ban, effective from July 28, on entry of Soviet trawlers into Canadian ports along the East Coast. At the same time, it worked actively with other maritime nations toward bringing about the 200-nautical mile economic zone. In coping with the Soviet military threat, the Canadian Government, apart from lodging strong protests, announced at the end of 1975 a decision to increase the national defense budget and expand the reserve force in order to strengthen its national defense and to meet its commitments to NATO. In explaining this decision to the Defense Committee of the House of Commons on December 1, 1975, Defense Minister Richardson said that the move to strengthen defense "is primarily aimed at an outside aggressor," referring principally to the Soviet Union or the Warsaw Pact countries.

Canada's struggle against Soviet penetration, plunder and aggression has become part of the struggle by the Second World countries against the superpowers' hegemonic policies. The Soviet revisionists, who have carried out aggression and perpetrated misdeeds everywhere, will finally knock their heads against the wall before the anti-hegemony struggles by the people of the world, and end up ignominiously.

* * *

Huang Ch'ao's Struggle Against Capitulationism

by

Cheng Shih (鄭 實), Chingshan Branch of Central China Normal College

(Wu-han Ta-hsüeh Hsüeh-pao /Wuhan University Journal/, Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition, No. 4, July 14, 1976)

The last years of the T'ang Dynasty were marked by extremely acute class contradictions and innumerable uprisings by the vast numbers of oppressed peasants against the feudal order. In 874 A.D., an insurgent contingent led by Wang Hsien-chih developed into a force of tens of thousands with astonishing speed, captured many prefectures and counties, and then merged with the insurgent army commanded by Huang Ch'ao. The combined forces proved peerless wherever they went. When the insurgents attacked and took Juchou (Linju, Honan) and captured its governor Wang Liao alive, the whole country was shocked and the wealthy landlords turned on their heels. At this time, the T'ang rulers, with a view to stamping out the peasant uprising, "resorted both to sweet words and military threats." On the one hand, they "pleased Wang Hsien-chih by pardoning him and punishing the guilty Shang Chün-ch'ang." On the other hand, they despatched troops to attack, pursue and intercept the insurgent army in a bid to strangle the emerging peasant revolutionary forces in the cradle.

The insurgent army with the revolutionary peasants as its mainstay ignored these tricks, continued to overrun vast areas in Hupeh, Honan, and Anhwei, and won one victory after another. However, in this huge revolutionary torrent, what was good was inevitably mixed with what was bad, as careerists and schemers of every description often took the opportunity to worm their way into the insurgent ranks. In their effort to meet the needs of the T'ang court to perpetrate its scheme of amnesty and enlistment, they constituted an important class source for the engendering of capitulationists within the insurgent army, as were true of Shang Chün-ch'ang, who usurped a leading position,and his like. Shang was a scholar, born of a landlord family in a poor clan. As his family was the object of discrimination by the wealthy landlords, he tried his luck in Changan but failed once and again in the imperial civil service examinations. He then joined the brigands, a result caused by the internal contradictions of the landlord class. By so doing, he hoped to obtain, by being a brigand, what he could not gain at the civil examinations. This was therefore the class origin of his becoming a representative figure of the capitulationists within the insurgent army. During an attack on Ch'ichou (Ch'ich'un, Hupeh) in 876, through the captive Wang Liao, he colluded with P'ei Wo, the governor, and obtained from the Emperor a high official appointment for the oscillatory Wang Hsien-chou, formerly a private salt dealer, making Wang a military and concurrently civil official. At this critical juncture, Huang Ch'ao came forward, and forthrightly and angrily asked Wang Hsien-chih: "Have you forgotten the oath you and I took to fight together to capture the world? But now you think only of your personal well-being. Where are

you going to lead the brothers?" He grabbed Wang and struck blows at him. Led by Huang Ch'ao, the officers and men of the insurgent army, aroused, bitterly denounced Wang for his despicable act of betraying the revolutionary line and vainly trying to lead the insurgent army astray. "Awed by this show of anger, Wang turned down the official offer," "Without a mass foundation, capitulationists can do nothing." It was this tit-for-tat struggle by Huang Ch'ao and other staunch revolutionaries that forced Wang to decline the offer of amnesty and enlistment. This indicates that the masses are the real heroes, the decisive force boycotting the wrong leadership and putting an end to capitulationist activities.

Capitulationists are splittists. His capitulationist plot having gone bankrupt, Shang Chün-ch'ang instigated Wang Hsien-chih to split the revolutionary ranks by leading a number of men "to go the other way." At the same time, he continued to engage in the dirty deal of begging the imperial court for amnesty and enlistment, for which he paid with his life. Till the end of his life Wang Hsien-chih himself never really recognized his mistakes to give up his illusion about the imperial court. In 878, when he retreated to Huangmei, he died in action, with his men sustaining heavy losses. "The rest dispersed," and the few who remained again returned to Huang Ch'ao. The line decides everything. When the line went wrong, the fruits of revolution already gained might also be lost, and the damage done by a leadership practicing capitulationism could be enormous.

Since it criticized the erroneous capitulationist line and stuck to the correct line of revolutionary rebellion, Huang Ch'ao's insurgent army quickly grew into a revolutionary force of several hundred thousand. Called the "Sky-rocketing Great General," he was determined to destroy the T'ang empire and carry the heavy responsibility of fighting against the class enemies to the last. After 877, adopting the correct strategy of operating with flexibility, avoiding the enemy where he was strong and attacking him where he was weak, Huang Ch'ao led the insurgent army to fight south and north, and in 880 captured Changan, the T'ang capital. The peasant revolutionary regime known as Tach'i was inaugurated amid cheers by the multitudes and the din of deafening drums. It fought against not only the corrupt officials but also the Emperor, and the "Son of Heaven" of T'ang fled to Szechwan with panic.

"The general course of past revolutions indicates that in these revolutions there was often short and temporary dictatorship of the workers with rural support, but never a consolidated regime of the workers." One of the important reasons for this was that there were some people in the revolutionary ranks who did not oppose the emperor and practiced revisionism and capitulationism, thereby undermining the revolutionary regime of the peasants. In the Tach'i regime, there were such worms corroding the revolution represented by Shang Jang and Chu Wen. These people joined the revolution from the despicable motive of grabbing something for themselves, and once their personal aims were satisfied, they ceased moving forward, opposed the revolution, and even surrendered to the enemy and helped him fight against the revolutionaries. Shang Jang rose at the same

time with Huang Ch'ao, usurped an important position in the insurgent army, and had been prime minister of the Tach'i regime. But his character unchanged, he became a capitulationist like his elder brother, Shang Chin-ch'ang. Chu Wen came from a bankrupt landlord family. His father, Chu Ch'eng, was a village teacher in Confucian classics. Influenced by Confucian ethics in his childhood, Chu Wen grew up to be a good-for-nothing idler. Time and again Shang Jang and Chu Wen violated the rules of revolutionary discipline formulated by Huang Ch'ao for the insurgent army and did what they pleased. Particularly after they entered Changan, they led a frivolous, decadent life, enjoying the honor and wealth which were not of their creation. In the course of struggle to consolidate the revolutionary political power, they sustained repeated setbacks, which served to foster the arrogance of the counter-revolutionaries. When later the situation deteriorated slightly, they raised their hands and surrendered, and immediately turned around to brutally suppress the peasant insurgents. In 882, Chu Wen, "seeing Huang Ch'ao's declining military power," "surrendered to Wang Chung-jung with the entire district under his charge" and shamelessly "married his sister to Chung-jung." Once Chu surrendered, he was made a high official by the imperial court for his "complete loyalty" and "charged with enlistment affairs." Since then he exerted his utmost to "beckon" the insurgents and serve the court loyally. He secretly wrote to Shang Jang, inducing him at once to "return to the imperial court in order to preserve your riches and honor." Thus collaboration from outside and inside led to the collapse of the new-born revolutionary regime. Capitulationists within the revolutionary ranks played a destructive role that external enemies could hardly play.

As the leader of the peasant revolution, Huang Ch'ao's struggle against the capitulationists at this stage was shown not only in his program, slogans and revolutionary actions which were opposite to those of the capitulationists, but also in his vigilance and struggle under the complex new situation against the capitulationist moves of Chu Wen and Shang Jang. Although Chu was also among the first to take part in the uprising and was Huang's sworn brother, he was not assigned to important tasks. According to records, Huang had Chu court-martialed when the latter broke the law and rules of discipline to the detriment of the revolution. And when later Chu was holding T'ungchou, Huang sent Yen Shih to "supervise him." When the Commander of Huachou Li Hsiang-shu, who was "a good friend of Chu," wanted to follow Chu in capitulating, he was summarily executed by Huang. Although Shang Jang was prime minister when the revolutionary regime was established, it was the staunch revolutionary Meng Chieh to whom Huang later entrusted important duties. When the struggle was at its fiercest, Shang Jang was transferred away, and someone was sent to keep him under "surveillance."

Due to class and time limitations, Huang Ch'ao did not and could not gain a deeper and more intrinsic understanding of the appearance of capitulationists within the revolutionary ranks and of the laws of their activities, and, moreover, because he was not well informed, he often discovered too late the capitulationist activities after the founding of the Tach'i regime. He was therefore unable to recover the heavy losses caused by the capitulationists. The Tach'i regime went under in face of

attacks by internal and external enemies, and Huang himself bravely committed suicide when all his men were gone and food supplies exhausted. However, the fearless revolutionary spirit he demonstrated in the anti-capitulationist struggle is something invaluable. Huang also came from a family of the exploiting class and was an unsuccessful candidate in the imperial civil service examination. But, "the existence of exploitation perpetually produces ideals contrary to this system among the exploited themselves and among individual representatives of the 'intelligentsia'." Huang was just such a representative of the intellectuals having revolutionary ideals opposed to the feudal system. Huang's revolutionary ideas not only were antagonistic to the capitulationist tendencies of Shang Chün-ch'ang, Chu Wen and others, but were also distinct in principle from the "egalitarian under heaven" ideas of Wang Hsien-chih. Wang's ideas, in more practical terms, meant obedience to the "Heavenly mandate" and the "Son of Heaven," begging the feudal rulers for "compensation," "relief," "benefaction," "concessions," and amnesty and enlistment; they were anything but against the emperor. Hence they were not peasants' revolutionary ideas. Huang diverged from this completely. He fought all the way, up to his becoming the Tach'i emperor, against the supreme authority of the feudal order, against political oppression by feudal rule and economic exploitation by the landlord class. Because his ideological and political line was correct, he dared to trample the "Son of Heaven" underfoot and had the ambition of founding a peasant revolutionary regime. At the same time, he was determined to rely on his strength, that is, the strength of the peasantry, to oppose acquisitions by the mighty and powerful and to equalize the distribution of property. This was the first revolutionary slogan of "equalization" explicitly put forward in the history of Chinese peasant uprisings. Such ideas of equality directed at unequal distribution of property and inequality of social status of people at the time were, as Lenin pointed out, "the most revolutionary ideas" in the "struggle against the old autocratic system, particularly in the struggle against the old system of landownership by serf-owners."

Huang Ch'ao joined the peasant revolutionary ranks because he wanted to realize his revolutionary ideals of opposing the feudal order, and he was good at gathering the opinions of the masses. While in Canton, he was "persuaded by his followers to go north to do great things, and he took their advice." After entering Changan, he sent people out everywhere to publicize the aim of the revolution, which was to "bring well-being to the common people." He opened the granaries for the relief of the poor. The insurgents he led had a clear idea of love and hate. Many members of the royal family of T'ang were executed for their heinous crimes against the common people. When Huang Ch'ao entered Changan for a second time, he ordered firm suppression of the landlord home-coming contingents which had assisted government troops and engaged in class retaliations. These were known as "city cleansing" operations. Linked to this was his order for the destruction of Confucian temples everywhere. These facts show the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit in Huang. In the course of the revolutionary struggle, he turned his back against his class and dedicated his life to the revolutionary cause. All of his family joined the uprising. Those who plunged into the revolutionary torrent with him included his elder

brother Huang Ts'un, young brothers Huang Ssu-yeh, k'uei, Ping, Wan-t'ung and Ssu-hou as well as his sons and nephews. Huang Ch'ao was worthy of the reputation as the outstanding leader of the insurgent army, the true hero of the peasant revolution.

A review of the history of the struggle between capitulationism and anti-capitulationism in the insurgent army toward the end of T'ang enables us to see clearly that there were indeed capitulationists within all past revolutionary contingents and the danger they posed was very serious. But they were after all a tiny handful, denied of mass support, and hence they were very feeble. At the same time, we also see that since ancient times the Chinese people have had a glorious revolutionary tradition of struggle against capitulationism. As for capitulationist conspiracies, "we must smash them and we will certainly be able to smash them."

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The Historical Background of Chu Yüan-chang's Two Military Orders and His Military Thinking

by

The Shanghai Museum

(Wen-wu /Cultural Relics/, No. 7, 1976)

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, the Shanghai Museum sorted out Chu Yuan-chang's hand-written manuscripts of two military orders -- "the Anfeng order" and "the Kaoyu order." Both were important documents of peasant war toward the end of the Yüan Dynasty.

In mid-14th century, a great peasant uprising with the Red Turban Army as the main force erupted in China. With the power of thunder the insurgents dealt heavy blows to the dark rule of the Yüan Dynasty of joint dictatorship by the Mongolian and Han nobles and landlords. With such slogans as "Heaven sends its army to stamp out the unjust" and "Kill the unjust and bring peace to all," they directed the spearhead at the feudal caste system of the Yüan Dynasty, and wrote a shining chapter in the annals of Chinese peasant revolution. The Red Turban Army persevered in struggle for over a decade, but, due to sabotage by a large group of intellectuals of the landlord class who wormed their way into the insurgent army and due to some strategic and tactical errors of the insurgents, it eventually failed under joint attacks by government troops and the landlord armed forces. In 1359, Pienliang -- the political center of the Red Turban Army -- was taken by the government troops. Liu Fu-t'ung, leader of the peasant insurgents, took with him Han Lin-erh, the young prince of Ming, and retreated to Anfeng (now Shou county, Anhwei). Thereafter, the revolutionary situation changed.

But the historical achievements of the Red Turban Army uprising are indelible. Their heroic struggle caused the once powerful Yüan Dynasty to sink into a shaky position, incapable of maintaining its decadent rule. At this time, "numerous men of ambition rose everywhere and set up independent regimes in their territories."* The whole empire was thrown into great disorder. Many peasant armies continued the anti-Yüan struggle, but the leadership of others was usurped by careerists who marked off their territories and declared themselves kings. Some landlord tyrants organized armed forces and established independent regimes in their localities. Some ambitious Yüan generals defied imperial orders. Temporary splits often were a commonplace phenomenon prior to new unification in Chinese history. At that time, the people hated the decadent rule of late Yüan, but they also loathed those careerists and separatist forces within the Yüan court for causing years of chaotic fighting, and so they urgently demanded unification of the country. Chu Yüan-chang (朱元章) was such a

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* "True Records of Ming: First Emperor Hung Wu," Vol. XVI.

historical figure who consummated the cause of unification by exploiting the fruits of victory of the peasant war during late Yüan.

Chu was born of a poor peasant family. In his childhood he tended cattle and sheep for landlords, and had been a roaming monk. In the raging torrent of the Red Turban Army uprising in late Yüan, he joined the force led by Kuo Tzu-hsing and took it over after the latter's death. In his early years he accepted the leadership of Liu Fu-t'ung and Han Lin-erh of the Red Turban Army, and he expanded his forces in the Yangtze-Huai areas during bitter battles between the Red Turban Army and the Yüan imperial forces in the north. By the time Liu Fu-t'ung retreated to Anfeng, Chu had occupied vast tracts of land with Chich'ing (now Nanking) as the center and embracing northern Anhwei, southern Anhwei, southern Kiangsu and eastern Chekiang. To the west Chu was flanked by Ch'en Yu-liang, who occupied the Hunan-Hupeh-Kwangtung-Kwangsi area and was more powerful than he; to the east by Chang Shih-ch'eng, who had the Kiangsu-Chekiang area and possessed great financial resources; to the south by Fang Kuo-chen, who controlled the Fukien area and was an opportunist. These several forces had mostly lost their early enthusiasm for fighting against the Yüan Dynasty, and some even turned around and secretly colluded with the Yüan court. Although Liu Fu-t'ung of the Red Turban Army to the north served as a shield, this force was now in an inferior position, and the main force of the Yüan army might move south at any time.

How could Chu stand on his feet among these powerful groups and proceed to consummate his great cause of "unifying the empire"? In 1357, Chu captured Huichou (now Hsi county, Anhwei) and adopted Chu Sheng's proposal to "build high walls, store grains everywhere, and declare yourself king later."* Moreover, in accordance with this policy, he went in for energetic development of farm production, consolidation of the base area and conservation of strength. Meanwhile, exploiting the contradictions of others, he selected one target for concentrated attack at a time. After newly a decade of efforts, he eventually unifed the south, and in 1368 launched the northern expedition, occupied Yüan's capital (Peking), and re-unified the whole country.

The two military orders, the "Anfeng order" and the "Kaoyu order" were issued by Chu Yüan-chang to the frontline commander Hsü Ta in 1366. The first order concerned dispositions for the Anfeng campaign; the second dispositions for the Kaoyu campaign. The historical events involving the two orders can be verified in "True Records of Ming: First Emperor Hung Wu," Vol. XVI. Since Chu still honored Han Lin-erh at this time and continued to use the "dragon and phoenix" title of reign of the peasant army and since he had not yet revealed his features as a political representative of the landlord class transformed from a leader of the peasant insurgent army, we may regard these two military orders as historical documents of the peasant uprisings at their late stage toward the end of Yüan.

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* "History of Ming: Biography of Chu Sheng."

These two military orders did not contain many words, and the Anfeng and Kaoyu campaigns involved were not of decisive importance in Chu's war to unify China. Nevertheless, we may still see from them some aspects of Chu's strategic and tactical thinking. These ideas resulted from his summing up some experience and lessons derived from the peasant war conducted by the Red Turban Army, and at the same time, they also reflected the influence of the military thinking of the great military scientist Sun Wu in Chinese history.

In 1366, Chu had acquired Ch'en Yu-liang and extended his sphere of influence from the Kiangsu-Anhwei areas to the middle reaches of the Yangtze, having the most powerful armed force in the south. As he had enforced the policy of combining farming and war over many years, he not only had an army of strong fighting power, but also built up a relatively strong material foundation. These conditions provided him with the possibility of "unifying the empire." Of course, to turn this possibility into reality still required a serious struggle.

After the downfall of Ch'en Yu-liang, Chang Shih-ch'eng, entrenched in areas east of the Yangtze, became a startled bird. But he still maintained considerable power. And though the Yüan army, which had been driven to the north of the Huai River by the Red Turban Army, was greatly demoralized, the existence of the unit under Wang Pao-pao (K'jo-kuo Timur) which "held Ch'i and Lu and had a strong cavalry," still posed a serious threat to Chu Yüan-chang. In addition, he still had to cope with Fang Kuo-chen and Ch'en Yu-ting in the south and Ming Yü-chen in Szechwan, although these forces were relatively weak and the areas under their occupation were also relatively remote.

In view of this situation, Chu Yüan-chang concluded that to overthrow Yüan, it was necessary to consolidate the rear, and to consolidate the rear required the elimination of Chang Shih-ch'eng, who threatened from the flank. In order to sever the ties between the Yüan troops and Chang, Chu adopted the strategic policy of cutting up and encircling the enemies and wiping them out one by one by "first taking T'ung, T'ai and other prefectures and cutting off the enemy's wings before concentrating forces to deal with western Chekiang."* Thereupon, he ordered Hsü Ta to drive toward northern Kiangsu and the region north of the Huai River. It was against this background that the dispositions for the Anfeng and Kaoyu campaigns outlined in the two military orders were carried out.

These orders first of all reflected Chu's rich combat experience and accurate anticipations of the enemy. This was one of the prerequisites for his ability to defeat the enemy.

In the "Kaoyu Order," Chu began by asserting that Chang Shih-ch'eng would "first come to the rescue of Kaoyu, for better or for worse." Kaoyu,

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* First Part of General History of Ming, Vol. III.

with its back against the Kaopao Lake, had "the lake serving as a barrier" and was also an important stronghold covering T'aichou, Chang's strategic town for river defense; militarily it must not be abandoned lightly. But, more importantly, Chang, formerly a salt dealer, always regarded Kaoyu as his mecca. Here in 1352 Chang proclaimed himself king. The following year, he was besieged and attacked by the Yüan army, and came close to destruction. It was later an internal strife within the Yüan army that saved him. From Kaoyu, he "marched out with his lone army and occupied large tracts of land to the east covering a thousand li, and his force swelled to several hundred thousand."* He proclaimed himself king in areas south of the Yangtze, but most of his right-hand men were still natives of T'aichou and Kaoyu.** If Kaoyu were captured by Chu Yüan-chang, this would strike a huge psychological blow at Chang Shih-ch'eng's group. the past, Chu and Chang had fought each other many times, and on six occasions the latter "despatched troops across the river" to reinforce Kaoyu. It was on the basis of these objective analyses that Chu made his above-mentioned assertion. As was expected, when Hsü Ta attacked Kaoyu, Chang on the one hand despatched troops to attack I-hsing as a diversionary move; on the other hand, he ordered Hsü I to send reinforcements to Kaoyu by sea. But Hsü I, afraid of fighting, hesitated, and Kaoyu was quickly taken by Hsü Ta.

In the "Anfeng Order," Chu Yüan-chang, after reviewing Yü P'ing-chang's report on the enemy's movement, held that "if we do not fight them, cut off their supplies and take Anfeng first, they will menace us later." Why did he attach so much importance to the capture of Anfeng? Anfeng was a strategic town in the upper reaches of the Huai River, the last stronghold of the northern Yüan troops on the Huai River. The occupation of Anfeng would block the Yüan army's southern advance. The elimination of Chang Shih-ch'eng would mean the end of a potential danger and would affect the development of subsequent campaigns most favorably. It was for these reasons that Chu accurately anticipated enemy reinforcements and the need to get prepared to strike at such reinforcements. However, Chu also realized that at this time the Yüan general Wang Pao-pao was acutely fighting with the other Yüan generals Li Ssu-ch'i and Chang Liang-pi for control of the high command, so they could not possibly send more troops to rescue Anfeng. This then presented an excellent opportunity to "attack the city and strike at the reinforcements" -- a move that would kill two birds with one stone. Chu was determined to "fight a battle of quick decision," wipe out the enemy effectives, and capture Anfeng. The subsequent development of the fighting confirmed the correctness of Chu's appraisal.

Such "foresight" on Chu's part resulted from his scientific analysis of such subjective and objective factors as the geographical position, the balance of strength between the two sides, the enemy's internal

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* First Part of General History of Ming, Vol. IV.

** "True Records of Ming: First Emperor Hung Wu," Vol. XVI.

relations, and the enemy's political characteristics. Thanks to his accurate predictions, in both campaigns he seized the enemy's weaknesses to wear him down, while he (Chu) stored up his strength and took the initiative. Once Chu encouraged his general Ch'ang Yü-ch'un with this quotation from Sun Wu: "Those who are good at war lead and are not led by the enemy."* Judging by these two campaigns, he was indeed rather adept at keeping the enemy on the run, lured the enemy into the trap, and was one who was good at war.

The "Anfeng order" and the "Kaoyu order" also reflected Chu's skills in using a large force to attack a small force.

Chu believed that "to act cautiously and carefully is essential to generalship."** How could this be done? Learning the lesson of the failure of the Red Turban Army in attacking the Yüan army by scattering its forces, he did not disperse his forces lightly. Strategically, he acted rather flexibly in light of the developing situation by selecting one prime target of attack at a time, so that his main forces could concentrate on one point, while at other places he assumed the posture of defense or that of "talking compromise." Tactically, he always carefully analyzed the various possibilities affecting the changes in the position of the enemy and his own. On the one hand, he tried to induce the enemy to keep his forces on the run or disperse them; on the other, he concentrated his own forces so as to attack a small force with a large force and thus be assured of victory. Once he said to Hsü Ta and Ch'ang Yü-ch'un: "An army which wins repeatedly is liable to be conceited, and an army which tires itself out can be easily routed. Those are invincible who consider the possibility of defeat, and those will accomplish great things who go about it prudently."*** This shows that he was against blind and reckless fighting. This characteristic of Chu's generalship is evident in his military orders about dispositions for the Anfeng and Kaoyu campaigns.

At that time, the Yüan troops holding Anfeng were demobilized troops from Luchow where they had sustained defeats. Chu Erh's reinforcements, though "having 800 horses and some 9,000 infantrymen," had to travel a long way and could not join the Anfeng defenders right away. In view of this situation, Chu, apart from sending troops to intercept Chu Erh's reinforcements so as to delay their arrival, ordered Hsu Ta to join his forces with those of Luchou for an attack on Anfeng. In this way, Hsü gathered more than 30,000 men, several times more than the Anfeng defenders. Because of Anfeng's fortified positions, the fighting was very bitter. "The city could not be taken after days of fighting. Then an underground

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* "Master Sun's Art of War: Chapter on Weakness and Strength."

** "True Records of Ming: First Emperor Hung Wu," Vol. XV.

*** First Part of General History of Ming, Vol. IV.

tunnel was dug leading to the city walls from the eastern end. When the city walls collapsed, the city fell."* It was only after Anfeng was captured that Chu Erh's reinforcements arrived, and of course they too were routed by Chu's superior forces.

The Kaoyu campaign ended in a similar way. Chang Shih-ch'eng's forces holding Kaoyu at that time numbered less than 5,000 men, and his forces defending Huai-an numbered only 6,000. These forces were weak and scattered. In the "Kaoyu order" Chu instructed Hsü Ta to "launch an early attack on Kaoyu" by deploying 20,000 men, more than three times the enemy forces, to encircle and attack Kaoyu. The whole campaign took only 17 days from the time the military order was issued to the time Kaoyu was captured. To be sure, while throwing such a large force into the Kaoyu campaign, Chu also took into consideration such factors as Wang Pao-pao's reinforcements overland and Hsü I's reinforcements from the sea. But before these reinforcements had arrived, Chu was on his way from Kaoyu to attack Huai-an and wiped out Hsü I's reinforcements during the march. The enemy forces at Huai-an were so weak and isolated that they surrendered. The capture of Kaoyu and Huai-an gave Chu a major victory in "controlling the entire Huai area." Since then, Chang Shih-ch'eng cringed in a corner south of the Yangtze, no longer able to challenge Chu.

From these two campaigns of Anfeng and Kaoyu, we can see that Chu was good at seizing the enemy's weakness in scattering his forces in defense and gradually reinforcing them, so he could swallow the enemy piecemeal. This suffices to show that he was deeply aware of the essence of Sun Wu's Art of War": "We concentrate, the enemies disperse, and we pit ten against one." Chu not only concentrated his forces when strategically he was in an inferior position or when strategic equilibrium was reached, but even when he enjoyed strategic superiority, he still adhered to the principle of concentrating forces, bearing in mind the need to "act cautiously and carefully." In 1368, Chu had by and large unified the south and began his northern expedition. At that time, his general forces held the upper hand, and the common people were with them. Some generals advocated a direct thrust into the capital (Peking). But, Chu after careful consideration contended that the enemy must not be under-estimated, and he decided to apply the tactics used to attack Chang Shih-ch'eng. He advocated "first taking Shantung to remove the enemy's barriers, then swinging to Honan to clip his wing and finally taking T'ungkuan and holding it so as to seize his vital spot."** Only when the peripheral areas were cleaned up and the whole situation was brought under control should an attack be mounted against the political center of the Yüan court. The development of history proved the correctness of this strategic idea expounded by Chu.

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* "True Records of Ming: First Emperor Hung Wu," Vol. XVI.

** First Part of General History of Ming, Vol. IV.

Both orders also reflected the importance Chu attached to the relationship between "food" and "war."

As mentioned above, strategically Chu gave serious attention to "storing grains everywhere." This was one of the important material conditions for him to re-unify China. Tactically applied, this "storing grains everywhere" idea meant insuring supply of provisions for one's army and at the same time trying to cut off the food supply of the enemy so that he would collapse without putting up a fight. In the early days of his participation in the peasant uprising, a number of major campaigns were fought for the purpose of seizing base areas with high yield of grain. Later in many of his directives he urged his men to "carry out military training in farming, to fight when there is a battle to fight, to farm when there is no battle to fight, and to study military affairs at leisure hours."* "All men below the rank of commanding officer must store grain, farm and fight."** Of course, this demand of Chu's should not be interpreted as being aimed at lightening the burden of the people, for his purpose was to make his troops store ample stocks of grain and fight protracted battles so as to achieve his political objective. In 1358, Chu attacked I-hsing for a long time but could not take it. Analyzing the cause, he found a transport line at the western end of I-hsing which led to T'aihu and from which Chang Shih-ch'eng obtained his food supplies. Thereupon, Chu despatched troops to cut off this line, and I-hsing was captured shortly afterward.

The Anfeng campaign was another typical case of war. The "Anfeng order" laid particular emphasis on "cutting off the enemy's food supply" and fully affirmed Yü P'ing-chang's tactics of closing the river through which the enemy got his food supply. Chu believed that if Yü could hold the Chengyang Pass, a strategic point along the Huai river, thereby controlling this transport line and forcing the enemy at Anfeng to go without grain, then even the entry of Chu Erh's reinforcements into Anfeng across the river would not help. But if Chu Erh should see fit to take care of the food supply first, then Yü must harass and tie him down in such a way as to prevent him from reaching Anfeng in time to help. Chu took into account the possibilities after the "grain war," and the campaign developed in the way as Chu foresaw. The Yüan troops found themselves in the plight where "they have no equipment, no grain and no stocks,"*** and were wiped out one by one.

To sum up, Chu's two military orders concretely reflected some aspects of his military thinking. To be sure, good command was one of the reasons why Chu won more battles than he lost them, but the most fundamental

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* First Part of General History of Ming, Vol. I.

** First Part of General History of Ming, Vol. III.

*** "Master Sun's Art of War: Military Campaigns."

reason was the favorable objective situation created for him by the Red Turban Army that rose to resist Yüan. Without the struggle of the Red Turban Army, and particularly without the Red Turban Army effectively pinning down the Yüan army in the north, it would have been impossible for Chu to win a series of victories later. While Chu was expanding his forces, a large number of intellectuals of the landlord class joined his ranks, with Sung Lien, Liu Chi, Li Shan-ch'ang and other statesmen of the landlord class regarded as his right-hand men. Influenced by these intellectuals of the middle and small landlord class, Chu gradually changed from a leader of the peasant uprising into a chieftain of the landlord class. Before the Anfeng campaign, Chu in his indictment against Chang Shih-ch'eng accused the latter of "seizing our Anfeng," showing that he still was on the side of the peasant army leader Liu Fu-t'ung, who died in battle at Anfeng.* However, shortly after the Anfeng campaign, in a proclamation he openly slandered the Red Turban Army for "spreading rumors to bewitch the people, " showing that he had shifted to the side of the landlord class. The achievements of the peasant uprisings in the last years of Yüan were finally exploited by the landlords and nobles as an instrument for bringing about a dynastic change.

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* First Part of General History of Ming, Vol. III.

The Internationale Shall Be the Human Race

by

Shang Hsia (尚侠)

(Chi-lin Shih-ta Hsüeh-pao /Kirin Normal University Journal/, Philsophy and Social Sciences edition, No. 5, October 10, 1976)

In these days of nationwide mourning of the passing of the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, the heart-stirring melody of the "Internationale" reverberates throughout the Tienanmen Square, flying through thousands of mountains and rivers to reach the five continents and four seas. "To the 'Internationale's' stirring strains, a wild whirlwind swoops from the sky." At this very moment, the song conveys our infinite sorrow for and eternal memory of Chairman Mao; it sings out our iron-like oath and firm conviction in our ceaseless efforts to realize communism; it becomes a song of march in our resolve to carry out Chairman Mao's behests and complete the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by him.

While we are singing it, historical events flash across our eyes and take us to the year 1871 when the revolutionary tempest of the Paris Commune was blowing hard. Scarcely had the sound of gunfire died down in front of the pitched "walls of the members of the commune" than Marx, with a view to summing up the historical experience of the Paris Commune and educating the proletariat of the whole world, made public his splendid work "The Civil War in France." "The following day after the failure of the May bloodshed," the "Internationale" hailing the historical mission and goal of struggle of the proletariat was born amid the blood-bath of the Paris Commune. For more than a hundred years it has been spread in the storm of the world revolution after breaking through the sky-filled mist, blowing the horn of march, with its militant tune and force. "Smash the old world into pieces;" the shining prospects of communism are hankered after by more and more slaves. In the midst of the singing, the October Revolution led by Lenin dashed through imperialism's eastern front and ushered in a new era of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. "When he wrote his first song, the number of socialists among the workers was counted at most by tens. But now this song by Eugene Pottier, a song of historical significance, is known by millions upon millions of proletarians....." Every revolutionary who has come over singing the "Internationale" is deeply aware of the great ideals of communism revealed in "Internationale," ideals which unite the proletarians of the whole world. "A worker with consciousness, no matter which country he comes from, where fate has put him, however much he feels being a stranger speaking a different language, without relatives and far away from his motherland -- can find his comrades and friends by the familiar tune of 'Internationale'." The "Internationale" has become a "song of unity and fighting for the proletarians of the whole world."

While singing it, we shall never forget that it was under Chairman Mao's leadership that the Chinese Communist Party and the people of all

nationalities in China carried out the heaven-storming struggle while singing aloud the "Internationale." To thoroughly liberate the "slaves from cold and hunger" and the "miserable people of the whole world," Chairman Mao led our Party to defeat over and over again the interference and sabotage of the opportunist and revisionist lines. This enabled our Party to go on growing in the protracted class and line struggles and become a great, glorious and correct Marxist party; enabled our army to grow from small to big, from weak to strong and become a strong pillar for the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship and the defense of the socialist motherland; and enabled our country to free itself from the semi-colonial, semi-feudal chains to become a socialist country on the road to prosperity and stand erect in the east. So that Lenin's banner would be hoisted again in the birthplace of the October Revolution and the strains of the "Internationale" might never cease, Chairman Mao, with the courage and stamina of a proletarian revolutionary, led us to "fight for the truth," start in the international communist movement a great struggle to criticize modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at the center, defend Marxism-Leninism, and push the development of human history. Looking back over the past half a century, we see that it was Chairman Mao who led us to surmount difficulties and hazards one by one. Our arsenals glisten with the great directive "never forget class struggle" and the wise assertion that the bourgeoisie "is right in the Communist Party"..... In the course of the struggle, the sound of "Internationale" has filled our hearts and aroused our fighting will without interruption. Its golden symbols represent the wings of the proletariat; its revolutionary theme represents the common fate of the revolutionary cause in which Chairman Mao led us to engage. Till his last breath, our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao had struggled for the realization of the lofty ideal of the song -- communism.

Chairman Mao had consistently promoted the singing of "Internationale," taking it as an important teaching material for ideological and political line education among the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country, so that we would never forget the historical mission of the proletariat, completely overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, replace bourgeois dictatorship with proletarian dictatorship and finally arrive at communism. Chairman Mao pointed out: "We have been singing the Internationale for fifty years, yet on ten occasions certain people inside our Party tried to split it. As I see it, this may happen another ten, twenty or thirty times. You don't believe it? You may not believe it. Anyhow I do." Today this song is of greater vitality than it ever was any time in the past, and every Communist and revolutionary who vows to carry through to the end the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat must further understand the profound meaning of advance while singing the "Internationale." They must convince themselves that the socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system, an objective law that is independent of man's will. They must firmly believe that the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao will certainly win, and they must be "forever on the attack" for the realization of communist ideals generation after generation.

"This is the final conflict; unite tomorrow." Let us forever follow Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, closely unite around the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, take class struggle as the key link, uphold the Party's basic line, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and defend by struggle the paen of the proletariat -- "Internationale."

"Let the mind break from the cage," "strike the iron while it is hot and you will succeed." Let us seriously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought, continue to criticize Teng and repulse the Right revisionist wind to reverse verdicts, consolidate and develop the fruits of the great proletarian cultural revolution, ardently support new socialist things, restrict bourgeois rights, wipe out all "poisonous snakes and ferocious beasts," and wage uncompromising struggle against people who betray Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and tamper with Chairman Mao's directives, against anyone who practices revisionism and splittism and who intrigues and conspires. Let us further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In accordance with the great idea -- "proletarians of the whole world, unite" -- embodied in "Internationale," let us continue to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs, adhere to proletarian internationalism, never seek hegemony, and unite, fight and win alongside all genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations and the proletarians and revolutionary people throughout the world. Regardless of how many difficulties and setbacks there may be in the future, we will forever advance singing aloud "Internationale."

The Internationale shall be the human race!
The bright-red sun shall shine on the whole earth!

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